lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

The houses are small, usually consisting of a front living room, a corridor with one or two bedrooms, a small dining room, and a kitchen. The furniture is scanty--a miscellany of chairs, benches, and tables, an occasional dish closet, the ever-present pictures of saints, one or two beds, and clay dishes.

As noted earlier, the fisherman could earn more if he wanted to. There is a certain dispraisal of those who attempt to better themselves, though once they have raised their status they are admired. One fisherman in town worked harder than the others, earning slightly more; his house was always in better condition than the others, and his wife took better care of it. She was very neat, and her house and children were always remarkably clean. This family was always ridiculed by its neighbors for trying to be like gente (literally, people, but in Vila Recôncavo carrying the special connotation of upper-class people). Life became so unpleasant for them that they finally moved away.

Class C is aware of the difference between it and the town's uppermost class and the planters. The latter constitute a very distant group to most town members of Class C, for there are almost no occasions when the two groups meet. When not pushed to a finer distinction, lower-class people usually recognize two strata--their own and a small but powerful one above them, consisting of the local upper class and planters. Color plays an important role in Class C, for it is generally acknowledged that the whiter one is, the higher in the social scale, in spite of the instances in town where dark mestiços have climbed to the top of the ladder, that is, to the top of Class B. Color is the one classifying criterion which applies to all members of Class C, since many of the other criteria, such as education and family tradition, are inapplicable. These negative considerations, plus the fact that their occupations are all manual, tend to make the group quite homogeneous except for skin color. Nevertheless, the town members of Class C consider themselves definitely superior to the field workers, regarding them as country bumpkins. There is little or no tendency for rural people to move into town, and no one remembers having heard of the marriage of a country person with a town dweller.

What has been called Class D in Vila Recôncavo is composed largely of women who have children but no acknowledged husbands. There is no such group in the rural area, because of the pressure brought to bear by the plantation own-

[Class C Families]

Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspected of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy) in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men enter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one inside has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy already there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only remark was that he had not been paid!

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their exploratory experiences with one another, and what they have tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where, according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such reports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory concerned two women who were living together, one very strong, large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked at the other. This case was well known, and considered hilarious by the neighbors.

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of privacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for infants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the morning the floor is thoroughly washed.

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or

2t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in the community. The active one in town is located on a street in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered configuration of the village. The front room, which is the largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacrificial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

things African" that he is occasionally called to Pernambuco, four hundred miles up the Brazilian coast, to carry out special rituals which cult members in that city are unable to perform. Of the *candomblé*, he says, "The Nagô worships nature because he is realistic and wants to see what he worships. He can't see the Catholics' God."

The *barracão* here is about fifty feet by thirty, with roof and one end thatched with palm fronds, and floor freshly sanded. By nightfall it is gaily decorated with paper streamers, most of which are white; some, however, are red, blue, green, or yellow. A large and neat placard, which one of the *ogans* proudly says was painted by his daughter, a first-year student at the Escola Normal, bears the inscription: "Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá," a combination of Portuguese and Nagô which means "Sacred Cross Center of the Brothers and Sisters of the Temple of Xangô." Chairs to accommodate the priestess, the elderly Negro woman, and the old Negro man have been placed on a dais to the left of the musicians. The spectators are carefully excluded from the dancing space in front of the drums by railings patrolled by *ogans*. On the end wall hang three white pennants bearing respectively, the inscriptions, "Viva Oxalá," "Viva Oxun," and "Viva Aryra," and one red pennant with the words, "Viva Xangô."

The *filhas*, all of whom are escorted into the *barracão* under a white sheet held by *ogans* who also light the procession with flaming torches, number seventeen, all of whom are blacks, with the exception of two dark mulattoes. Of the *ogans*, fourteen are blacks, eleven are mulattoes, six of whom are dark mixed-bloods, and one is a Portuguese immigrant who came to Brazil some thirty years ago and now owns a small retail establishment in the Lower City.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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[302] Three of the dancers are *yauôs*, in process of being "made." Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and
[301] blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

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776 In a special building with a cement floor is "the throne room of Xangô." At one side is an altar to him, which is lavishly decorated with candles and flowers, both fresh and artificial. Indicating the fusion of Catholic and fetish elements, one notes on the lower step an image of Santo Antonio, on the second, one of Nossa Senhora das Candeias, on the third, an image of the twins, Cosme and Damião, and, on the top level, one of São Jeronimo. The *mãe de santo* says that Santo Antonio is "just another name" for Ogun; as similarly is Nossa Senhora das Candeias, for the water deity, Oxun; Cosme and Damião, for Beji; and São Jeronimo, for Xangô.

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[352] On the other side of the room is "the throne of Xangô," a wooden chair, intricately carved, with a pillow for a headrest. Suspended on the walls are pictures of several Catholic saints.

[353] In the center of an adjoining room is "the spring of the *mãe d'agua*," a huge basin built of cement and containing ten to twelve inches of water. On the wall is the Nagô inscription, "Ilé Awon Afonjá" ("House of Xangô").

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159 The leader of another *seita* is a male black, known as Pae Procopio, sixty-six years of age, of Gêge descent, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, he proudly boasts, were all Africans and *paes de santo*. His mother's sister was also "an *Africano*," but his mother was a Brazilian-born black, a *mãe de santo* who "deixou o cargo" (i.e., left the

5: Azevedo--19 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.

5: Azevedo--20 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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At the University